This Book was given me by my Bro^r
Thos Bowdler: & conformably to his
desire, I request that it may be given
after my death to my Nephew the Rev^d
Thos Bowdler

Jno Bowdler 1st Bonifons 4 Feb 1808

Consider the End of all things

Thomas Bowdler

This good Book did belong to my
dear dear brother John Bowdler
e cens familiæ suæ

M S

Sanctissimi Regis, et Martyris Caroli.

Siste viator,

Lege, Obmutesce, Mirare!

memento CAROLI illius,

Omnibus puritate, et pietatis Insignissimæ, Primi,

Magnæ Britanniæ Regis:

qui Rebellium perfidiâ primò deceptus,

Dein perfidorum rabie pressus,

Inconcussus tamen Legum et fidei Defensor,

Schismaticorum Tyrannidi succubuit,

Anno

Salutis Humanæ MDCXLVIII,

Servitutis nostræ } Primo
Felicitatis suæ }

Coronâ Terrestri Spoliatus, Cælesti Donatus,

Silent autem peritura Tabellæ:

Perlege Reliquias, verè sacras, Carolinas,

In quibus,

Sui Monumentum, Ære perennioribus,

Vivaciùs exprimit,

Illa, Illa,

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Lenderibus genus omne mali, probrisq; gravati
vixq; ferenda ferens palma ut deprejsa resurgam
ac, velut undarum fluctus ventiq; furorem
Prati populi rupes immota repello
Clarior e tenebris, salutis stella, refusco;
Victor et æternum salici pace triumpho.
Auro splendentem rutilo, gemmisq; decoram
at curis gravidam spernendo calco coronam.
Spinosam, at ferri facilem, quæ Spesmea, Christi
auxilio, nobis veraq; tractare voluptas
Æternam fixis fidei semperq; beatam,
In cœlos oculis specto, nobisq; paratam.
quod vanum est sperno; quod xpti gratia præbet
amplecti studium est: virtutis gloria merces.

Though clogg'd with weights of miseries
as palm depress'd I higher rise
And as thunders Rock'd enterabes
His boisterous winds & raging waves
So Triumph I, & in dark night
of Sad afflictions shine more bright
That splendid but yet toilsom Crown
regardlessly I trample down
With Joy I take this Crown of Thorns
Though sharp yet easie to be borne
That glorious happy Crown I see
deprived to those of I cannot be
I slight vain things & do imbrace Glory to

E
S

Immota Triumphans
Clarior e tenebris
Beatam et Æternam
Gloria
Cœli Specto
Ypemm at Levem.
In Tuo Verbo Spes Mea
Gratia
Christi Tractio
Splendidam at Gravem
Mundi Cata
Cantus
Crescit sub
Pondere Virtus

EIKΩN BAΣIΛIKH

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTY IN HIS SOLITVDES AND SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & malipati, Regium est.

Printed M. DC. XLIX.

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1649

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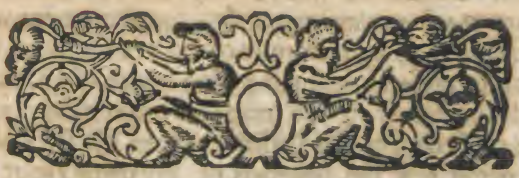

Εἰκὼν βασιλική.

1. *Vpon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and neceſſitie of My affairs, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crowne, as beſt eaſing to my People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparkes, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hope to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſs all publick grievancies in Church and State, (hoped by My freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, & miſcarriages in this: in which, as I feared, affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould find leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in many places, yet hoping that the gravitie and diſcretion of

other Gentlemen would allay and fix the C
mons to a due temperament (guiding some mens
meaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are
both to preserve and restore the health of all St
and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleased
the convening of this Parliament, then My self;
knowing best the largeness of My owne Heart
wards My Peoples good and just contentment,
sed My selfe most in that good and firme underst
ing, which would hence grow betweene Me and
People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My owne and
Childrens Interests gave Mee many obligation
seek and preserve the love and welfare of My
jects. The onely temporall blessing that is
the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest h
and safetie, next Gods protection; I cared not t
sen My self in some things of My wonted Prerog
since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain
a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends,
Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desir
those that were factiously discontented, if the
but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens
or remissness in Church and State, had contr
upon My Government, I resolved to have expiate
such Lawes and regulations for the future, as
not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice, bu
ply what was defective in the constitution: No
having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and
served in Truth, Unitie, and Order, then My
whom it most concernes both in pietie and po
as knowing, that, No flames of civill dissention

more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensious the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiss; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My selfe within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-borne in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had less betrayed My self, and My Kingdoms, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischiefe.

But our sinnes being ripe there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which we robbed him of in our Prosperitie.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming doe not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, Thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet do I not Repent of My calling this last Parli-

ament; because ô Lord, I did it with an upright in tion to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and Kingdomes, are the Just effects of thy displeasure on us, and may be yet (through thy mercy) prepara of us to future blessings, and better hearts to t them

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many mer comforts; yet grant Me and My People the b fit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; tha rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then we dare to account them the strokes not of an En but a Father: when thou givest us those humble fections, that measure of patience in repentance, w becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to r the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, by them thou hast brought Me and My People feignedly to repent of the sinnes we have commit

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our suffer then our Peace could be with our sinnes.

O thou Soveraign goodnesse and wisdome, who ruleſt all our Counsels; over-rule also all our he That the worse things we suffer by thy Justice, the ter we may be by thy mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into son, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antid

As the sinnes of our Peace disposed us to unha py Warre, so let this Warre prepare us fo blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome King here, yet I may attain to that Kingdome of Peac My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (tho a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. *Vpon the Earle of* Straffords *Death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great erours, and many enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of Times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any hight and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earle when betweene My owne unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessitie (as some told Me) of satisfying the importunities of some People; I wys perswaded by those, that I thinke wished Me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with Men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed, I am so farre from excusing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary consent

sent it was not) to his destruction, whom in Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, gu of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscie with greater regret : which,as a signe of My rep tance, I have often with sorrow confessed both God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailty, that discovered more a feare of Man,then of God,wh name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to be who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of high injustice,as no publick convenience can expi or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans ow Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores ; to ca the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and consequences, to shew the World the fallacy of th Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) th the People be displeased, or destroyed.*

For, in all likelyhood, I could never have suffe ed, with My People, greater calamities, (yet wi greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* Inn cencie,at least by denying to *sign* that destructive B according to that justice, which My Conscience sug gested to Me,than I have done since I gratified som mens unthankfull importunities with so cruell a f vour. And I observed, that those, who counsell Me to signe that Bill , have been so farre from r ceiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with th People, that no men have been harassed and crushe more than they : He onely hath been least vexed b them, who counselled Me, not to consent again the vote of My owne Conscience ; I hope God ha forgiven Me and them, the sinfull rashnesse of th businesse.

To which being in My soule so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me. That the best rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gaine a like consent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affaires, against the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, for whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not Condemne him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours *for Justice*. (that is, to have both My selfe and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us)

us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified concurre with the condemning Party, than satisfi that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells World, that some remorse touched even his m implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had very h measure, and such as they would be very loath sho be repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regret I find in my Soule, having had any hand (and that very unwilling God knowes) in shedding one mans blood unjus (though under the colour and formalities of Justi and pretences of avoyding publick mischiefes) wh may, I hope, be some evidence before God and M to all Posterity, that I am farre from bearing jus the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which h been shed in this unhappy Warre; which some m will needs charge on Me, to ease their owne Sou who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take aw any mans life unjustly, than to lose My owne.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive that act of sinfull compliance which hath greater aggravations upon Me than any man. Since I had the least temptation of envie, or malice against hi and by my place should at least so farre, have be a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse O God, th God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of righteousnesse.

Again

Against thee have I sinned and done this evill in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy judgements, and to see my frailty in thy justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me and my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice and Religion which shines in My Soul for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which speak better things; O make me, and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the boneswhich thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

3. *Upon His Maiesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to
mand Justice upon the five Members, wa
act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloq
and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies
feares; yea, and many of My friends resented it
motion rising rather from Passion then Reason,
not guided with such discretion, as the touchines
those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and p
nant grounds with which I thought my selfe so
nished, that there needed nothing to such evide
as I could have produced against those I charged
onely a free and legall Triall, which was all I desi

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or
venge against those mens persons, further then I
discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspo
encies they had used, and engagements they
made, to emproyle my Kingdomes: of all whi
missed but little to have produced Writings u
some mens owne hands, who were the chiefe
trivers of the following Innovasions.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted
probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousie
any Kings Heart, who is not wholly stupid and
lective of the publick peace, which to preserve by
ling in Question halfe a dozen men, in a faire an
gall way (which God knowes was all my desig
could have amounted to no worse effect, had it
ceeded, then either to doe Me, and my Kingd
right, in case they had been found guilty; or else

ive cleared their Innocencie, and remove my ſuſpici-
ns; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice,
neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſparke (though I
ught by all ſpeedy and poſſible meanes to quench
ſoone kindled, all the World is witneſſe: The aſ-
rſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if
had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Com-
ons, and invade their Priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as
od beſt knowes, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none
at attended could juſtly gather from any thing I
ien ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch
oughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it
is no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety
a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented
nes; ſo were my Followers at that time ſhort of
y ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to
zard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more
ired at my comming, then I was un-aſſured of not
ving ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with
to preſerve a reverence to me; For many People
d (at that time) learned to thinke thoſe hard
oughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented
ainſt Me, both by Words and Deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked
on by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors
their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelfe, and ſo
rthier of their protection. I leave them to God,
d their owne Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill
chinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindica-
ns of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue
em from thoſe exact Tribunalls.

To

To which, in the obstructions of Justice a
men, We must religiously appeale, as being an
ment to us Christians of that after un-avoi
judgement, which shall re-judge what among
is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had
fit, those future Commotions, which I fore
would in all likelyhood follow some mens activi
not restrained) and so now hath done to the
ing of many thousands, the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houses,
weaken their just Authority by any violent imp
ons upon them, was not at all My designe: I tho
I had so much Justice and Reason on My side
should not have needed so rough assistance;
was resolved rather to beare the repulse with
ence, than to use such hazardous extremities.

*But thou O Lord, art My Witnesse in He
and in my Heart: if I have purposed any violet
oppression against the Innocent: or if there we
such wickednesse in My thoughts.*

*Then let the enemy persecute My soul. and
my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour
dust.*

*Thou that seest not as man seeth, but looke
yond all popular appearances searching the heart
trying the reines. and bringing to light the h
things of darknesse, shew thy self.*

*Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with
and godly men they cannot be) any argument
sinne in that matter; more then their Imp
among good men is any sure token of their Innoce*

But forgive them wherein they have done

ough they are not punished for it in this world.
Save thy Servant from the privy conspiracies, and
violence of bloody and unreasonable men accord-
to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency
my hands in this matter.
Plead my cause and maintain my right, O thou,
sittest in the Throne, and judgest righteously, that thy
servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

---

4. *Upon the Insolencies of the Tumults.*

Never thought any thing (except our sinnes) more
ainfully presaging all those mischiefes, which
e followed, than those Tumults in *London* and
Westminster, soone after the Convening of this Par-
ment; which were not like a storm at Sea, which
wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake,
king the very Foundations of all; than which, no-
ng in the World hath more of horrour.
As it is one of the most convincing Arguments
t there is a God, while his power sets bounds to
raging Sea: so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the
dnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend
se Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he
ers the confluence & clamors of the vulger, to passe
boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.
Which those Tumults did, to so high degrees of In-
nce, that they spared not to invade the Honour
Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproach-
shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of
h Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them: Nor
they forbear most rude & unseemly deportments
h in contemptuous words and actions, to My selfe
My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, V
ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwayes encreas st
higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigatio su
straint, or remission. Ti

First, they must be a guard against those t
which some men scared themselves and others le
all; when indeed nothing was more to be feared c
lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumult
confluxes of mean and rude people, who are to v
first to petition, then to protect, then to dictat T
last to command and over-aw the Parliament. n

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, all e
dome of differing in Votes, and debating m d
with reason and candour) must be taken away, t
these Tumults: By these must the Houses be n
ged, and all rotten Members (as they pleas
count them) cast out: By these the obstinate
men resolved to discharge their Consciences m
subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and sch
tical all propos alls against Government Eccles iastica
Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they preva

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring
confusion and ruine upon Church and State, u ed
midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and imp
ence was such, that they would not stay the ripe
and season of Counsels, or faire production of A
in the order, gravitie, and deliberateness e befitti
Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cru
and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their
viters and Incouragers most fancyed.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their
rages, that no sober man could be without an in
shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and c
nived at by some, countenanced, incouraged, and
plauded by others. W

g. What good man had not rather want any thing he
ast desired, for the Publick good, then obtaine it
io such unlawfull and irreligious meanes? But mens
sions and Gods directions seldome agree; vio-
ost designes and motions must have sutable en-
s les, such as too much attend their owne ends,
eldome confine themselves to Gods meanes. Force
ust crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

t Who were the chiefe Demagogues and Patrones
ai Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden
m, to direct and turne their clamorous importu-
l les, some men yet living are too conscious to pre-
nd ignorance: God in his due time will let these
y that those were no fit meanes to be used for at-
eving his ends.

ut But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage,
cen strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Mul-
udes to become insolent, when they have Men of
he reputation for parts and piety to set them on.
e What which made their rudnesse most formidable,
as, That many Complaints being made, and Messages
t by My selfe and some of both Houses; yet no
der for redresse could be obtained with any vigour
f efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that
w far-spred disease, and predominant mischiefe.
Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no
onvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed
ee their betters shamefully outraged, and abused,
le they knew their onely securitie consisted in
gar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or
two Houses common safety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartia-
to examine, censure, and punish the knowne
tefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boast-

ed of the influence they had, and used to con
those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have bin wiser States
owned them as friends, commending their Cou
Zeale, and Industrie; which to sober men could
no better than that of the Devil, who *goes about*
ing whom he may deceive, and *devoure*

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, th
Declaration from the Bishops, who were first fo
insolenced & assaulted; nor yet from other Lord
Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My selfe,
take place, for the due repression of these Tum
and securing not onely Our freedome in Parlia
but Our very Persons in the streets; I though
selfe not bound by My presence, to provoke th
higher boldnesse & contempts; I hoped by My
drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of
tumultuous fury, and others regaining some de
of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillan
for any man for popular terrors to desert his po
stition. But I think it a hardinesse, beyond true
for a wise man to set himself against the breaki
a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens im
danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend
ry & gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Ce
a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadva
for number and place in the field, in an orde
than skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed, that I medi
Warre, (when I went from *White-hall* onely
deem My Person and Conscience from violence
knowes, I did not then think of a Warre. Nor
prudent man conceive, that I would by so ma

ter, and some after Acts, have so much weakned My elfe, if I had purposed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all means, I denied My selfe in so many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, or protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing ar selves from the dayly baitings of the Tumults, not owing whether their fury and discontent might not e so high, as to worry & teare those in pieces, whom yet they but played w th in their paws? God, who My sole Judge, is My Witnesse in Heaven, that I ever had any thoughts of going from my House at *Whitehall* if I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but did not think My selfe bound to prostitute the Majestie of my Place and Person, the safetie of my Wife d Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, hen they have objects and opportunitie most capable of their rudenesse and petulancie.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some ve given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperatly guiltie) Time and the rt of many hath so smothered up, and buried, that I nk it best to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the just venger of all disorders, will in time make these men, d that City, see their sin in the glasse of their punishent: 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day e themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and nstitution, sate full and free, the Members of both ouses being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all ason, honor, & Religion, they should have bin; I doubt t but things would have bin so carryed, as would ve given no lesse content to all good men, then they ished or expected.

For, I was resolved to heare reason in all th
and to consent to it so far as I could comprehen
but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plan
ons, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Pleb
concourses to Publick Councels, turning all into
orders and fordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I c
this Parliament to any other place in *England* (
might opportunely enough have done) the sad
sequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bles
might have beene prevented. A Parliament w
have beene welcome in any place; no place affo
such confluence of various and vitious humour
that where it was unhappily convened. But we
leave all to God, who orders our disorders,
magnifies his wisdome most, when our follies
miseries are most discovered.

*But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defend
thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of
Sea, and the madnesse of the People.*

*The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in
me, and are ready to overwhelm me.*

*I look
or my sinnes, and the sins of my Pe
(which are the tumults of our souls against th
Lord) as the just cause of these popular inunda
which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of
alty, modestie, Lawes, Iustice and Religion.*

*But thou that gatheredst the waters into one p
and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst
swage the flood which drowned the world, by the
of thy power, Rebuke these beasts of the people,
deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of
multitude.*

R

Restore we beseech thee unto us, the freedomes of
ur Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionate
to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all
der and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and
hristians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the
od of Order and Counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy omnipo-
nt Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely
ise and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou know-
guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders:
et shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their
nishment.

Set bounds to our passions, by Reason; to our errours,
Truth; to our seditions, by lawes duly executed;
d to our schismes by Charity, that we may be as thy
rusalem, a City at unity in it self.

This grant, O my God in thy good time for Je-
Christ his sake, Amen.

Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THat the World might be fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, ason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the ppy successe of this Parliament, (which had in Me other design but the Generall good of My Kingnes) I willingly passed the BILL for Trienniall liaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Phy-, might (if well applyed) prevent any distempers n getting any head, or prevailing; especially if

the remedy proved not a disease beyond all reme

I conceived, this Parliament would find wor convenient recesses, for the first three yeares ; did not imagine, that some men would thereby occasioned more work then they found to doe, b doing so much as they found well done to hands. Such is some mens activitie, that they needs make work rather then want it ; and ch be doing amisse, rather then doe nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scantie to s some mens feares, and compasse publique affaires perswaded to grant that BILL, of Sitting duri pleasure of the Houses ; which amounted in mens sense to as much as the perpetuating thi lament. By this Act of highest confidence, I for ever to shut out, and lock the doore upon a sent Jealousies, and future mistakes : I confesse, not thereby intend to shut My selfe out of doo some men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparaleli'd by any of m decessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any wo terpretation then this, of an extreme confidence that My Subjects would not make ill use of a by which I declared so much to trust them, as to My selfe in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it just, or My condition should be worse, by My bettering Nor indeed would it have been so in the ev some men had knowne as well with moderati use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) wou keep the Common-weale in tune, by preserving v in their due execution and vigour, wherein My

s more than any wans, since by those laws, My rights
a King would be reserved no les than My Subjects;
ich is all I desired. More than the law gives Me I
ould not have, and lesse the meanest subject should
r.

ome (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repen-
d Me of that setling Act; & many would needs per-
ade Me, I had cause so to do: but I could not easily
r suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Hon-
r, That the more I granted them, the lesse I should
ve, and enjoy with them. I still counted My self un-
iminished by My largest concessions, if by them I
ght gaine and confirme the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despaire, but that God will
li blesse Me with increase of it, when Men shall have
ore leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassi-
nate representations they may reflect upon those, (as
thinke) not more princely than friendly contributi-
s, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their
ppinesse, who are now onely miserable in this,
hat some mens ambition will not give them leave to
joy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doub., but that in Gods due time, the loy-
& cleared affections of My people will strive to re-
arn such retributions of honor & love to Me, or My
osterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of
y confidence & My sufferings for them; wich (God
nows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short, oc-
asioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could
ot grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that
eing professedly My Subjects, pretended singular pi-
tie and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men
will needs load Me withall, as if I were a wil-

full

full and resolved Occasioner of My owne and
Subjects miseries; while (as they confidently,
(God knowes) falsly divulge) I repining at the
blishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by
and open hostility to undoe what by My R
assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very
sight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind
so farre to bind my owne hands at their request,
had shortly meant to have used a Sword ag
them. God knowes, though I had then a sen
Injuries; yet such, as to thinke them worth
cating by a Warre: I was not then compelle
since, to injure my selfe by their not using fav
with the same candour wherewith they were
ferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abu
Acts of Grace, and to turne them into wanton
but I thought at length their owne feares, w
blacke arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, w
force them to conjure them downe againe.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities
upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity
have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Wa
way upon those, whom I knew so well fortifie
the love of the meaner sort of the People, th
could not have given My Enemies greater, and
desired advantages against Me, then by so unprin
Inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Ar
thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had
lemnly settled by an Act of Parliament?

God knowes, I longed for nothing more than
My selfe, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy
fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a Course full of sinne, as well
Hazard, and dishonour for Me to goe about the

ng up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately anted, so much (as I thought) to My Subjects con-nt, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If some en had not feared where no feare was, whose se-rity consisted in scaring others.

I thanke God, I know so well the sincerity and up-ghtnesse of My owne Heart, in passing that great LL, which exceeded the very thoughts of former nes; that although I may seeme lesse a Polititian men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions fore God. Nor had I any reservations in My own ule, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I that My letting some men go up to the Pinnacle the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Me wne head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it fe, together with Me, could not but be dashed in ces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. hom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at gth, That as many Kingdoms as the Devill shew-our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the ining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dis-nour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds n this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, and made to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to ir owne passions, either to doe much evill them-ves, or abuse the over-much goodnesse of others, ereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, ce I have no reflections upon it as a sin of my will, ough an errour of too charitable a Judgement:

Onely

Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should b
because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I still appeal, whose A
erning Justice sees through all the disguises of
pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their he

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My
jects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer
from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to th
sing of ours, even when we hope to doe what m
most conformable to thine and theirs too; who p
ed they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy Grace teach me wisely to enjoy as w
frustrations, as the fulfullings of My best hope
most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears
raised Mine owne; and by settling them, ha
settled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evill for go
hatred for My good will towards them

O Lord, be thou my Pilot in this darke an
gerous storme, which neither admits My re
Port whence I set out, nor My making any o
that safety and honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love
silence of My people; nor is it harm for Thee to p
me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of to
which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon
to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of g
dulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others mor
ty then My Selfe may be of misusing those m
great ones, which thou, O Lord hast conferred

I beseech thee give me and them such repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may rest absolv. Make me so far happy as to make a right use of others crosses and by their sufferings of me to reflect with a saving displeasure upon my offences against Thee. So although by my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

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6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster* let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a clime; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sticking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, til I was driven away by shame more than fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those tumultuous, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedome. Whole agreeing Votes were not by any law or Reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a KING, and the gene-

generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and I may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: If some mens Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much more they dranke; whom no Fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell; when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall Soveraignty of his Soule, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor doe I think My Kingdomes so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denyed Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me only to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Tittle of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience; in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crowne of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to

what

what ever its Subjects Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voyce as King, they are not ashamed to seeke to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever My selfe, as King, or the House of Peeres with Me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I thinke My Oath fully discharged in that poynt, by My Governing onely by such Lawes, as My People with the House of Peeres have Chosen, and My selfe have consented to. I shall never thinke My selfe conscientiously tied to goe as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Propositions, which My Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the onely man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His owne Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if My dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activenesse, weaknesse or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinancy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man thinke it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusi-

ons

ons of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as do best appeare to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Propositions. I may, in the Truth and Uprightenesse of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea in many things, where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in poynt of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My selfe, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good before what I saw but convenient for My selfe.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My selfe to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crowne, together with the generall good of My

King

Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me;) here I am and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in my Conscience I deny before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of thorns with My Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whose embased flexiblenesse shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, & oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills & passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, than to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

O my God preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; for this I believe is thy will that we should maintain: who though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdome and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguide us: and so farre to deny our carnall reason in order to thy sacred Mysteries and Commands, that we should believe and obey rather than dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Justice; and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest O Lord how unwilling I was to d
sert that place, in which thou hast set me and where
the affaires of my Kingdomes at present did call me

My People can witnesse how far I have beene co
text for their good, to deny my self, in what thou ha
subjected to my disposall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities and tumu
tuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands,
ver betray me to that degenerous and unmanly slaver
which should make me strengthen them by my co
sent in those things which I think in my conscience
be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and t
e charge of my own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignitie
and injuries they presse upon me, rather then comm
the least sinne against my Conscience.

Let the just liberties of my people be (as well th
may) preserved in fair and equall wayes, without t
slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favours, in t
power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject m
Reason to other mens passions, and designes which
me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: so sha
I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of
heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet gi
me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for the
I know, will bring me at last to peace and happine
with thee, though for these I have much trouble
mong men

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

7. *Vp*

7. *Upon the Queenes departure, and absence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have taken up arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant Profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firme to their former setled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady should be any occasion of Her danger and affliction;

whose merits would have served her for a Protectio
on among the savage *Indians*; while their rudenesse
and barbarity knowes not so perfectly to hate al
Vertues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom
I yet thinke few are so malicious as to hate Her for
Her selfe. The fault is, that she is My Wife.

All Justice then as well as affection commandu
Me, to study her Security, who is onely in dangn
for My sake; I am content to be tossed, weathen
beaten, and ship-wrackt, so as she may be in safe
Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the
midst of My Personall dangers, that I can perish bu
halfe, if she be preserved: In whose memory, and
hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice o
My enemies, although they should be satiated with
My blood.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loy
altie of My good Subjects; and to his protection
who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and n
lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them
by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought t
have made good that safety, which the Lawes chie
ly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thos
that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for an
relation) to a King, to tarry among them who ar
shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretenc
of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity so noble and peacefull a Soule shou
see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those wh
must make up their want of Justice, with inhuman
ty, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will mak
h

her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the blackest nights: and assure the envious world, that she loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since We doe not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar; for We see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most selfe-punishing sinne, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of Our owne Household are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sinne to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Coran of Religion; and can lesse endure to see, than to sinne against their benefactours as well as their Soveraigne.

But even that policy of My enemies is so farre vejall, as it was necessary to their designes, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seeke to drive her out of My Kingdomes; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their Love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My selfe.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporall infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seeke, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our Soules eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be known, nor unbeliefe, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have Her to learn, nor any hardning of Her in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to Her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odium disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as thine; that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our sorrowings and Eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

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8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the losse of My Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more with pacience: But I fore-saw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to over-spread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers; That bad actions must alway be seconded with worse, and rather not be begu than not carryed on; for they thinke the retrenc more dangerous than the assault, and hate repentanc more than perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to see clearely through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother than oyle, but not I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policy (with patience) to beare what I could not remedie And in this (I thanke God) I had the better *Hitherto*, that no disdaine, or emotion of passio transported Me, by the indignitie of his carriage, doe or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsuit ble to that temper; which, in greatest injuries, I think best becomes a Christian, as comming neerest to th great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwayes more to remember am a Christian, than a King; for what the Majest of one might justly abhorre, the charitie of the othe is willing to beare; what the height of a King temp teth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive: Keeping in compasse all those impote passions, whose excesse injures a man, more than h greatest enemies can; for these give their malicio full impression on our soules, which otherwayes can not reach very farre, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe, how God not after so plen ded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the di pleasure to see it, and with some remorse and fea

to owne it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the Conicience of his owne wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his elder Sonnes Heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward than thus to divide their Heads from their Bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange, that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turne, the cutting off one Head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Common-weale. The eldeſt Sonne muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knowes, I was ſo farre from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo farre pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, than I hope other men doe in the ſame Cauſe.

For,

For, he was never thought to be of that superf
tious sowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to,
matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judg
ment, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sinne a
Rebellion in thoſe meanes they uſe, with intents
reforme to their Models what they call Religio
who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glift
with a ſhew of zeale and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of anoth
temper, and ſo moſt lyable to thoſe downe-rig
temptations of ambition, which have no cloake
cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves,
others.

That which makes me more pitie him is, that a
ter he began to have ſome inclinations towards
repentance for his ſinne, and reparation of his dut
to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappie as to fall into th
hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who coul
as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have a
ked that favour of Me.

For I thinke Clemencie a debt, which we ought t
pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe t
believe they would not after abuſe it; ſince Go
himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy
but onely prayers and prayſes.

Poore Gentleman, hee is now become a notabl
monument of unproſperous diſloyaltie, teaching th
world, by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, tha
the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraig
carryes alwayes its own vengeance, as an unſeparable
ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall
and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſ
Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were
more

fre infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though certaine, that no punishment so staines a mans gnour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; ich, besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with ft indelible characters of infamie, the name and morie to posteritie, who not engaged in the Factis of the times, have the most impartiall reflections the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way enged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret ensure in it; as his death hath satisfied the injurie did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in , lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider affront against me, more than the sinne against ee.

Thou, indeed, without any desire or endeavour of ine, hast made his mischiefe to returne on his owne ad, and his violent dealing to come downe on his wne pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sonnes f men, and taken the matter into thine owne hands; hat men may know it was thy worke, and see that hou, Lord hast done it.

I doe not, I dare not say, So let mine enemies perish, Lord! yea, Lord, rather give them repentance; rdon, and impunitie, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportuities of my mercy: yea, let them live and amend who ave most offended me in so high a nature; that I ay have those to forgive, who beare most proportion their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, hich I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Nor lay not their sinnes (who yet live) to their charge

charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

'Discover to them their sinne, who know not that they have done amisse, and scare them from their sinne, the sin of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And at last, O Lord, establish the throne of thy Servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let this Crowne ever flourish in righteousnesse, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love even we which were thine enemies, and hast sent thine Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

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9 *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the King.*

I Find, that I am at the same point and posture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must; which but Tumults listed and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace en-

blin

ing Me; here I am sure to be Conquerour, if God ill give Me such a measure of Constancie, as to ave him more than man; and to love the inward ace of My Conscience, before any outward tranillitie.

And must I be opposed with force, because they ave not reason wherewith to convince me? O my ople! be of good courage, they confesse their owne weakness, as to Truth, and Justice, who ose rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguents.

Is this the reward and thankes that I am to reive, for those many Acts of Grace I have lately assed, and for those many Indignities I have endued? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious ING, but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice, for a King that oves his people, and desires their love, either to kill s owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazzards and miseries of Civill Warre in he bowels of My most flourishing Kingdome, the ruits I must now reape, after 17 yeares living and eigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, eace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about eiher admired, or envied? notwithstanding some misarriages in Government, which might escape; rather hrough ill counsell of some men driving on their rivate ends, or the peevishnesse of others, envying he publick should be managed without them, or the idden and insuperable necessities of State, than any ropensitie, I hope of my selfe, either to injuriousnesse r oppression.

Whose innocent bloud, during my Reigne, have I hed, to satisfie My Lust, Anger, or Covetousnesse?

What

What Widowes or Orphans teares can witnes
gainſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be a
ged with My own bloud? For the hazards of W
are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſ
of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Parenth
of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt
with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied, to
what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warr
gainſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfa
on) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a
tion, which (to many men) ſeemes rather the
ductions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe
mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition,
Faction, (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of q
rell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtic
Parliamentarie Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able
avoid and anſwer before God in My owne Con
ence, however ſome men are not willing to bel
Me, leſt they ſhould condemne themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to
if I could allay the inſolencie of the Tumults, (
not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Rea
can be given (where an orderly Guard was gran
but onely to oppreſſe both Mine and the T
Houſes freedome of declaring and Voting acco
ing to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructi
of Juſtice were there further then this, That w
ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeeme ſo
another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſ
of Parliament?

T

That some men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appeare, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedome so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with libertie and safetie; it cannot seeme strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-borne the Freedome and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so deare to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himselfe, or denie appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; not compelled to abet by their suffrages, or presence; the designes of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancie and cautiousnesse; further then this,

this, I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe agai
the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to wh
I wiſhed nothing more, then Safetie, Fulineſſe, a
Freedome.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not mar
deſpairing in faire and Parliamentarie wayes by fr
deliberations, and Votes to gaine the concurrence
the major part of Lords and Commons, betoo
themſelves, by the deſperate activitie of factious T
mults, to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Membe
whom they ſaw to be of contrarie mindes to th
purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjo
ing their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledg
in the Houſe of Peeres, carryed for them by farre t
major part of Lords: Yet after five repulſes, contr
rie to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuar
inſtigations obtruded againe, and by a few carrye
when moſt of the Peeres were forced to abie
themſelves.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root a
Branch, brought on by tumultuarie Clamours, a
ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which never paſſed, till bo
Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reaſon, Juſtic
and Religion, My Conſcience forbids Me, by co
ſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parli
ment; I muſt now be urged with an Armie, a
conſtrained either to hazzard My Owne, and M
Kingdomes ruine, by My Defence; or proſtrate M
Conſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe me
whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinkes, or pretends, th
cannot doe God and the Church a greater ſervic
than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolica
a

and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintaine, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Right of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, than any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it than the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this poynt, with my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition; and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peeres, was done with a firme perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for my sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdome. That I cannot adde my consent to the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I thinke Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed

with, or destroyed, when what is onely of ci
Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to m
of that Order, may with their consent, who are co
cerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions preter
ed to be in point of Justice, and Authoritie of Pa
ament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew no
of such consequence as was worth speaking o
Warre, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and R
ligion had made in My Owne and other mens Co
sciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinque
was made; which were but consequences necessar
following upon Mine, or others withdrawing fro
or defence against violence: but those could not
the first occasion of raising an Army against M
Wherein I was so farre from preventing them,
they have declared often, that they might see
to have the advantage and Justice of the defens
part, and load Me with all the envy and injur
of first assaulting them) that God knowes, I h
not so much as any hopes of an Army in M
thoughts. Had the Tumults beene Honourab
and effectually repressed by exemplary Justic
and the liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that
Members of either House might with Honour a
Freedome, becomming such a Senate, have co
and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained
that I designed by My withdrawing, and had mu
more willingly, and speedily returned than I retir
this being My necessity driving, the other My cho
desiring.

But some men knew I was like to bring the sa
judgement and constancy, which I carry with M
wh

which would never fit their designes: and so while they invited Me to come, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My selfe, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time proponnded were either impertinent as to any ground of a Warre, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, & accessary, after the Warre was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that

all equality and clearenesse of Judgement might b
obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best obse
vation, the true state of affaires betweene us, whe
they first raised an Army, with this designe, eith
to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: an
in this truth, as to My Conscience, (who w
(God knowes) as far from meditating a Warre, as
was in the eye of the World from having any pr
parations for one) I find that comfort, that in th
midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War
on My side, I doe not think My Innocency any wh
prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that In
tegrity, and peace before God, as with humble co
fidence to addresse My Prayer to Him.

*For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all th
cloudings of humane affairs: thou judgest withe
prejudice: thy Omniscience eternally guides thy unc
rable Judgement.*

*O my God, the proud are risen against me, and th
assemblies of violent men have sought after my so
and have not set Thee before their eyes.*

*Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are m
ny, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without
cause.*

*For thou knowest, I had no passion, designe or prep
ration to embroil my Kingdomes in a Civill War
whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I mi
adventure more then any, and could gain least of a
by it.*

*Thou O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have d
plored, and studied to divert the necessity there
wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thri
of My Subjects blood, as to venture My owne, a
who

which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save, than to destroy my People.

O Lord; I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own Innocency: Yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miserable Warre; since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked counsels.

Save O Lord thy Servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in Warre.

Arise O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travailed with iniquity, and brought forth falshood.

Thou knowest the chief designe of this Warre is, either to destroy my Person, or force my Judgement, and to make Me renege my Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driven to crosse Davids choyce and desire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) than into thy hands by sinning against My Conscience, and in that against

thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy M then thou (houldst damne me.

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt sa the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie My Enemie or quench the flames of my Kingdomes, or thy Temp rall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of me, though their King, y a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Innocent an peace-maker Redeemer; for in that thy Justice wi find not onely a temporary expiation, but an eterna plenary satisfaction; both for my sinnes, and the sinn of my People; whom I beseech thee still own f thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death O Remember thy great mercies toward them, an forgive them! O my Father, for they know not wh they do.

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10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazine Forts, Navie, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the first raisin of an Army, and beginning this Civill Wa the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyall hear that durst onely pray for me, at first might witnes which yet appear not so many on My side, as the were men in Arms listed against Me; My unprep redneſſe for a Warre, may well dis-hearten tho that would help Me; while it argues (truly) M unwillingneſſe to fight; yet it testifies for Me that I am set on the defensive part; having l little hopes or power to offend others, that

ha

have none to defend my selfe, or to preserve what is mine owne from their proception.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before hand in their preparations against me, and surprisalls of my strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleeve my Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a Warre against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armes left Me, were those onely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the *Militia*, is so farre best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my selfe into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thanke God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieves Me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of

Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith a
Prayer
But this is the ſtrange method theſe men w
needs take, to reſolve their riddle of making Me
glorious King, by taking away my Kingly powe
Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My Friends, and
Terrour to my Enemies, being unable to ſuccour t
one, or ſuppreſſe the other.
For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to M
the new modelling of Soveraigntie and Kingſhip,
without any realitie of power, ſo without any n
ceſſitie of ſubjection and obedience: That the M
jeſtie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter han
like [illegible] Tombe, by a magnetique Charme, b
tweene the Power and Priviledges of the two Ho
ſes, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.
But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power, whi
ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and how fee
wholly to devoure, will ere long make the Commo
wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cann
well digeſt it; Soveraign Power in Subjects ſeldo
agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.
Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *M*
luta ſought, by ſatisfying their feares, and importu
ties, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mi
Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving M
ſelfe of a ſole power to helpe, or hurt any: yieldi
the [illegible] (which is My undoubted Right no le
than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of as the two Ho
ſes ſhall thinke fit, during My time.
So willing am I to burie all Jealouſies in them,
Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as
My ſelfe; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh the
and My People; if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſ

if the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further than they protected Me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My selfe so farre, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evill merits and designes, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custodie of the Shepheard and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from Me, and imployed against Me and them; that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the Law hath intrusted the publique safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to some men; which seeme to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to posteritie such Jealousies of the Crowne, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to My Successors, forbid Me to yield to such a totall alienation of that Power from them, which Civilitie and Dutie (no lesse than Justice and Honour) should have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipse My own beames, to satisfie their feares; who thinke they must needs be scorched, or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested Me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sunne of Soveraignitie to

all

all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just
coverie of their Rights from unjust usurpations a
extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstruct
by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not
more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to M
Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition n
wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law
be ever subjected to those many factious distrac
ons, which must needes follow the many-head
Hydra of Government: which, as it makes a fhe
to the people to have more eyes to fore-see; so th
will finde it hath more mouthes too, which must
satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosit
than any thing of perfection, beyond that of rig
Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as t
senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One
the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours a
malignant influence which will certainly follow M
enforced darknesse and Eclipse, (occasioned by t
interposition and shadow of that Body, which as t
Moone receiveth its chiefest light from Me) th
will at length more esteeme and welcome the rest
red glory and blessing of the Sunnes light.

And if at present I may seeme, by My receding
much from the use of My Right in the Power of t
Militia, to come short of the discharge of that tr
to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection;
conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced pe
jurie, (if so it may seeme) who compell Me to ta
this new and strange way of discharging My trust,
seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects,
exposing My selfe to danger or dishonour, for the
safetie and quiet.

Which, in the Conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens feares; which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successefull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safetie, than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weake defences against the stroakes of Divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My selfe, I doe not thinke that I can want any thing which providentiall necessitie is pleased to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or libertie the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himselfe can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by Land, of Forts and Castles, all flight by Sea, in my Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Me of my owne innocencie, or Gods mercie, nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me than can be against me.

There

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I de
in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou m
thou all to me: Make haste to succour me thou that
nor failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that co
against me, who are encouraged to fight under the p
tence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward th

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may ha
thine; If not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safety, and prosperi
behold here I am willing to be reduced to what th
wilt have me; whose judgements oft begin with t
own children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou may
be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved
the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me
the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord
Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on ev
side, yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear wh
man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glory of my distresse.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliveran
from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sinnes have I fought against thee, and re
bed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject, and just
mayest thou by my own Subjects, strip me of
strength, and eclipse my glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onely refug
Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him
his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footst
slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

XI *Upon the 19 Propositions first sent to the King; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My owne safety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot thinke I buy at too deare a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to Me, have been offered by Me; Others are easily granted; the rest (I thinke) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a Warre; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making Warre upon My Soule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I see nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange

change of Honour; or any requitall for those favo
I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the
ving part, which is more Princely and Divine. T
cannot aske more than I can give, may I but rese
to my selfe the incommunicable Jewell of my C
science; and not be forced to part with that, wh
losse nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propour
seeme unreasonable to me; and while I have any
sterie of my Reason, how can they thinke I can c
sent to them? Who know they are such as are inc
fistent with being either a King, or a good Christi
My yielding so much (as I have alreadie) makes so
men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indee
great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, a
inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I shou
not so much weaken my outward state of a King,
wound that inward quiet of my Conscience; wh
ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grac
dearer to me than my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet
Honour and Policie are at some time to be denyed
some men, lest he should seeme not to dare to de
any thing; and give too much incouragement to u
reasonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde my selfe to a generall and implic
content, to what ever they shall desire, or propour
(for such is one of their Propositions) were such a
titude of blind obedience, as never was expected fro
any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, mu
lesse of a King, by His owne Subjects; any of wh

he may possibly exceed as much in wisdome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philistins* might with the more safety mock, and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denyall, seems an arrogancy, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reason to Consent or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reason, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extream injury to confine My Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from mine both in Reason and Honour, as their aimes may be, and their qualities are? which last, God and the Lawes have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason,

who

who hath not a secret aime to share with him, usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine owne discretion; that might verifie what representations some have made of Me to the World, that I am fitter to be the Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my owne sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my selfe, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, & at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in my Soule, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or doe refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these Parpounders are; so that, till experience of one seven yeares hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reines of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My owne, into their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*, and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Pythius*; God divert the *Omen*, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons intends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

We

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had bin desired to a restauration of their vigor & due execution; or some evil customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by My selfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne being considered by them, might fairely induce me to condiscend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) an issue in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Law disjoynted, which are to be restored; of any rig invaded; of any justice to be un-obstructed; of a compensations to be made; of any impartiall R formation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Re son, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane m tives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by th at any time, in which is either great novelty or di culty; I perceive that what were formerly looked u on as factions in the State, and Schismes in t Church, and so punishable by the Lawes, have n the confidence by vulgar clamours, and assista (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of the selves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; also Abolition of the Lawes against them, and a tall extirpation of that Government, whose Rig they have a mind to envade.

This as to the main; other Propositions are (the most part) but as waste paper, in which those wrapped up, to present them somewhat more ha somely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and h rible novelty of some Propositions, (there being thing so monstrous, which some fancies are prone to long for.)

This casts me into not an admiration, but an ex sie, how such things should have the fortune to propounded in the name of the two Houses of Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am v confident, there was not a fourth part of Members of either House, whose judgemen free, single, and apart, did approve or desire

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destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever betweene the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soone renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (beleeving that all is Gold, which is gilded with shewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawne into the common sewer or streame of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chiefe rise and abetment from those popular clamours and tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the se-

cond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon, yet the fi
ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cau
for I look not at their number and power ſo muc
as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, a
once effectually redeemed themſelves from t
Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no otl
than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow
thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious and priv
Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitio
ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of th
votes, who excerciſe their freedome, as well as th
have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſ
pect My owne Judgement, for not ſpeedily and fu
concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to thinke, there
wiſe men among them: and humility to thinke, th
as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould
their adviſe, which is the end for which I called th
to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their w
dome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as
exclude My ſelfe; ſince none of them hath that p
to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate a
Honour to preſerve as My ſelf; without whoſe Re
ſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence
neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot b
get, or bring forth any one compleat and auth
ritative Act of publique wiſdome, which makes t
Lawes.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitio
is not more evident to Me than this is, That th
are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in the
major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote
Parliament.

Fo

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two last famous Predecessours dayes, heaved at, and sometimes threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am sure it was never wont so far to infect the whole masse of the Nobilitie and Gentrie of this Kingdome, however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taynt the major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practise, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Me, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids Me impute these sudden and rash desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safety, both of Church & State, command Me, to shew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do, of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, that nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing,

which my Reason and Conscience commands me n

Nor on the other side, will I consent to mo than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion p swade me to be for Gods glory, the Churches goo my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and r People, but I will never, for fear, or flattery, grati any Faction, how potent soever; for this were nourish the disease and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence a terrified from giving me that free and faithfull cou sell, which they are able and willing to impart, a I may want; yet none can hinder me from cravi of the counsell of that mighty Counsellour, w can both suggest what is best, and incline my he stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdom fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy Servant, f with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason and Justi in my understanding; then so confirm my will and Solution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuri oppressions of my Enemies may ever enforce me ag those rules, which thou by them hast planted in Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be thou a man; and not dare to say, Yea or Nay, as I cause; which freedome is not denyed to the mea creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty speech.

Shall that be blamable in me, which is commend veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and justice they deny that freedome to me their K I N

which thou hast given to all men; and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals, which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions:

Let thy glorie be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy truth, for thy honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted out of crossenesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied out of any feare or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing, or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are injurious to the Publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the

the publick of what is best, by any morose or perver dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow the advice, when it appears to be for the publick good, whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidenc to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as bl fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evill a idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord ma me carefull of these solema Declarations of my min which are like to have the greatest influence upon t Publick, either for woe, or weal.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make m the more sollicitous what I answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures a grievous, and peace would be very pleasing, yet Lor never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the ther, with the least expence or waste of my Conscienc whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Ma ster than my self.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Irelan

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, an so violent, that it was hard at first, either t discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precip tant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there be cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown an man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom Go shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator o its effusion.

It fell out as a most unhappie advantage to some lens malice against me; that when they had impu-ence enough to lay any thing to my Charge, this loudie opportunitie should be offered them, with hich I must be aspersed; Although there was no-hing which could be more abhorred to me, being so all of sinne against God, disloyaltie to my selfe, and estructive to my Subjects.

Some men tooke it very ill, not to be believed, hen they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, as done with my privitie (at least) if not by my ommission: But these knew too well, that it is no ewes for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely ithout my Commission, but against my Command, nd Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they ight by my Authoritie, and for my Safetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledge or their imitation against those, whose blame must eeds be the greater, by how much Protestant Prin-iples are more against all Rebellion against Princes, han those of Papists. Nor will the goodnesse of hens intentions excuse the scandall, and contagion of heir Examples.

But who ever faile of their Dutie toward me, I must beare the blame; this Honour my Enemies have lwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not pro-portionate to me, nor competent tryalls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice they have mixed he gall and vinegar of falsitie and contempt, with he Cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the great-est share of losse, and dis-honour, by what is commit-ted; whereby (in all Policie, Reason, and Religion, having

having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and m
grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſen
by them to the world the more inhumane and b
barous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom
thing will ſerve to eat and drinke, but the fleſh a
bloud of my owne Subjects; in whoſe common w
fare my intereſt lyes as much as ſome mens doth
their perturbations: who think they cannot doe w
but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly, as in laying t
odium of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewi
themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they ha
been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainely, 'tis thought by many wiſe m
that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſe
ritie, which ſome men carryed before them in *En*
land, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, a
blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of d
content, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell f
Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpaire being added
their former diſcontents, and the feares of utter e
tirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie
provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enou
to breake out to all exorbitant violence. both b
ſome Principles of their Religion, and the natur
deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelves fro
their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after
gours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparent
threatned, by the covetous zeale, and uncharitab
furie of ſome men, who thinke it a great Argume
of the truth of their Religion, to endure no oth
but their owne.

God knowes, as I can with Truth waſh my han
in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo
might waſh them in my Teares, as to the ſad appre
henſion

henſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and Jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their owne ſafetie, or deſignes they were driving, than to the reliefe of thoſe, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teares and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparkes of Civill Diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had beene leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate than my ſelfe; I offered to goe my ſelfe in Perſon upon that expedition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any Mark here leſſe than my ſelfe; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamitie ſo long, nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſinne of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the knowne Heads, and chiefe Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women, and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their owne breaſts, in behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive feares, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for

Sex

Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift a hand against them, nor distinguish betweene the right hand and their left: Which prepostorous, as (I thinke) un-evangelicall Zeale is too like that the rebuked Disciples, who would goe no lower their revenge, than to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; like that of *Jacobs* sonnes, which the Father both blemed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremties, which might drive men to desperate obstinaci than to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplarie Justice, yet disarme others with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and ou protection of them, from the furie of those, wh would soone drowne them, if they refused to swim downe the popular streame with them.

But some kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruell tha counted cold, and is not seldome more greedie to ki the Beare for his skin, than for any harme he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, than the charitie of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poore Protestants in *Ireland* (who were dayly massacred, and over-born with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chiefe of the Protestant partie there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they saw no probabilitie (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knowes with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carryed on that businesse, by persons of Honour

and

and Integritie, that so I might neither incourage the Rebels insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessitie and difficultie of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer againe in my Reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfulls of the Protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gayning of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safetie; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have layd *Irelands* sad condition more to heart; and layd aside those violent motions, which were here carryed on by those, that had better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is false, and evill, than love or charitie to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeale to his omniscience, who doth not therefore denie my Innocence, because he is pleased so farre to trie my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to looke to my owne Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust, as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of some mens mouthes and hearts, as easily as smoake, or sparkes doe out of a fornace; much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who

conscious

conscious to their owne depth of wickednesse, s loath to believe any man not to be as bad as the selves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but the one, I shall not much regard to beare the oth

I thanke God I can beare with patience, as b as my worst enemies can falsly say. And I hope shall still doe better than they deserve, or desire should.

I beleeve it will at last appeare, that they who fi began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, y of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kin domes, exhausted out of my owne veines; no m being so much weakned by it, as my selfe; And hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never wi yet the mercy of God will at length say to his Ju tice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Ci Warres to sheath it self: his mercifull justice inten ing, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure the abatement of our sinnes, not the desolating these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us o against, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly bused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, practiced in charity, thou hast suffered a Spirit

Erro

Errour and bitternesse of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great sinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our Consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy Judgements; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy Judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sinnes be ever more grievous to us than thy Judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent Consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drowne our sinnes, and through the red sea of our own blood bring us at last to a state of piety, peace and plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make Me share in all My Subjects sufferings; so give Me such a pious sense of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruell zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of these flames which have so much wasted my three Kingdomes.

O rescue and assist those poore Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved.

And

And lead those in the wayes of thy saving Tru whose ignorance or errours have filled them with R bellious and destructive principles; which they under an opinion, That they doe thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice be against those w maliciously and despitefully have raised or foment those cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innoc with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicio Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh *for the many Ch dren that were therein, give not over the whole st of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; no their anger which is too fierce, and therefore jus cursed.*

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the f nace of thy severe Justice a Posterity, which may pr thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me not according to mans unjust r proaches, but according to the Innocency of my ha in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day my Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earnestly stu ed, and faithfully endevored the preventing & composi these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be aga me and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I ha enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if Conscience did not witnesse mine integrity, which th O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to m own merit, but thy mercies, spare us O Lord, be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to strike, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My Charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in cloudy Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent meanes, before the divine Justice; I leave to their Consciences to judge,

who have already felt the miserie of the meanes, b
not reaped the benefit of the end, neither in t
Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of graine being objec
ed here, as will hardly suffer that forme which th
cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and settli
of Government and Discipline in Churches, to
on so smoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotlan*
and was by them imagined would have done
England, when so many of the *English* Clerg
through levity, or discontent, if no worse pa
on, suddenly quitted their former engageme
to Episcopacy: and faced about to their Presb
tery.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some se
seeking, more than true Zeale, and pious Discreti
for any Forraigne State or Church to prescribe su
medicines onely for others, which themselves h
used, rather successefully then commendably;
considering that the same Physick on different c
stitutions, will have different operations; That m
kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any such tough and malign
humours in the constitution of the *English* Chur
which gentler applications then those of an Ar
might not easily have removed: Nor is it so pro
to hew out religious Reformations by the Swo
as to polish them by faire and equall disputati
among those that are most concerned in the di
rences, whom not force, but Reason ought to c
vince.

But their designe now, seemed rather to cut
all disputation here, then to procure a faire and
quall one: For, it was concluded there, that
Eng

English Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* patterne before ever they could be heard, what they could ly for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for heir credits, who urge things with such violence; nd for other mens Consciences too, who can receive ttle satisfaction in these points which are maintain- rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than hollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gaine ost on mens Judgements and Consciences, which e least urged with secular violence, which weakens ruth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be ed, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath ene applyed, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, ndemnes Mens obstinacy to deserve penal- s.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many rned and pious Church-men in *England*; who ing alwayes bred up, and comformable to the overnment of Episcopacy, cannot so soone re- unce both their former opinion and practise, ely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, force assist a like Party here, either to drive all nisters, as Sheepe into the Common Fold of Pres- ery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by riving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the ly institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches overnment; yet I beleeve it would be hard to ve that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any o- r of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to it up in any of My Kingdomes, without My sent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his A
stles pay'd to the chiefe Governours of States, wh
they lived, is very cleare in the Gospell; but that
or they ever commanded to set up such a parity
Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* end
vour; I thinke is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an insti
tion of Christ; sure it differs from all others;
is the first and onely point of Christianity, tha
to be planted and watered with so much Chris
bloud; whose effusion runs in a streame so cont
to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christia
ty and Episcopacy, which was with patient sh
ding of their owne bloud, not violent drawing
ther mens; sure there is too much of Man in it,
have much of Christ, none of whose institut
were carried on, or begun with the temptations
Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which th
vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the p
which those *Scots* had by Army or Comm. sli
to move Me with, by their many Solemne obt
tions, and pious threatnings, but onely this; to
present to Me the wonderfull necessity of setting
their Presbytery in *England*, to avoyd the fur
miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on
designe at first had begun, and now further eng
themselves to continue

What hinders, that any Sects, Schismes, or H
sies, if they can get but numbers, strength and op
tunity, may not, according to this opinion and
terne, set up their waies by the like methods of
lence? all which Presbytery seekes to supresse,
render odious under those names; when wise
les

learned men thinke, that nothing hath more markes of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall way of the Church-Government, and especially as to the particular Lawes and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason, and peaceable Wisdome, which is from above, tending most to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I thinke My selfe so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious Zeale and care, by how much I esteeme the Church above the State, the glory of Christ above mine Owne; and the salvation of mens Soules above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Nor may any men, I thinke, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under My care and tuition, into the molds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designes, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My owne and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle My Religion; nor any mans else, who knowes what Religion meanes: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, such a

leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyall Subjects, matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits themſelves, that they care not what coſt they out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe, th have ſome temptation of gaine, to recompence the loſſes and hazzards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* A mies comming in againſt My will, and their fo feiture of ſo many obligations of duty, and gratitu to Me; then I wondred, how thoſe here could much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pr tended Gods cauſe to the People, as if they had t certainty of ſome divine Revelation; conſider they were more competently furniſhed with M Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navy by Se My Fortes Caſtles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the Juſtifiabl neſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, n ver thinke they have humane ſtrength enough carry their worke on, ſeeme it never ſo plauſible the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Re ligion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſom of them one while earneſtly invite to come in their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoon after are we ry of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what o Party thought to rivet to a ſetlednes by the ſtreng and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects a contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Gover ment, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrati the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more than charita aſſiſtance: For ſure the Church of *England* mig

have purchased at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happinesse of Reformed Government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines in Christendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially setled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes and pretentions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designes; In vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of nature and conscience which they have to Me, all Reason and true Policy will teach them that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safety and Honour for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

The Troubles of my Soul are inlarged, O Lord; bring thou me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those

who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honour.

Thou O Lord, canst turn the heart of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much loyall zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue Him.*

Preserve the love of thy truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affection returning towards Me.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me, for I wait on thee O Lord

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them by a solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of Religious and faire pre-

tentions

tentions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacie; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemne a Charme and Exorciſme be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand yeares poſſeſſion there, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianitie in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times, till this laſt Centurie.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it; Presbyterie, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chayre and Authoritie (though Lay-men goe away with the Revenues) all Art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland*, by the like Artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefely wonder at the deſigne and drift touching the Diſcipline and government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, than ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſitie; but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certaintie in ones ſelf, or that charitie & candor to others of different opinion, as I thinke Religion requires, which never refuſes faire and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People must nec
in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unla
full, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where fo
mer Religious and Legall Engagements bound m
ſufficiently to all neceſſary Duties. Nor can I ſee h
they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and C
venant, with that former Proteſtation which was
lately taken, to maintaine the Religion eſtabliſhed
the Church of *England*: ſince they account Diſcipli
ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never thinke they have la
ſnares and ginnes enow to catch and hold the Vulg
credulitie: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pio
ſtratagems, they think to keepe the popularitie faſt
their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Where
certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought the
ſelves ſufficiently bound by former tyes of Religio
Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and imp
ſed by a few men in a declared Partie, without M
conſent, and without any like power or preſide
from Gods or mans Lawes, be ever thought by j
dicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlack
thoſe morall and eternall bonds of dutie, which l
upon all My Subjects Conſciences both to God a
Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall le
offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant
honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſince I have the charit
to thinke, that the chiefe end of the Covenant
ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion
puritie, and the Kingdomes in peace: To other th
ſuch ends, and meanes, they cannot thinke themſelv
engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touch

of conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and unauthorized novelties, before their known and sworne duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this Judgement, That ſuch later Vowes, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, that they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled or ſacred in Religion, and Lawes, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule, and wonted practiſe to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy combinations.

Which cords and wythes wil hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts up-

upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when the were sufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessarie obligations.

Indeed, such illegall wayes seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants, in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmely to the Partie and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not the Chiefe Designe which is layd against the Church and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Partie; so little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken with it, as now to act clearly against both all pietie and loyaltie: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for,

for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within these lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely, it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of soft and servile tempers, as discovered them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed* Churches abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and

and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights, than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deere, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcall-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sayls, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteere their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thanke God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefely from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bountie.

But no neceſſitie ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's Divinitie, and *Joseph's* true Pietie abhorred to doe: so unjust I think it, both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred imployment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the Red Sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteemes it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessor *Henry* the third sometime did, on the Churches Almes, than violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouthes.

The next worke will be *Jeroboam's* Reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough knowne: And so it will be here, when from the Tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have alreadie discovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I thinke it no lesse than a mocking and tempting

tempting of God, to desire him to hinder the miſchiefes whoſe occaſions and remedies are in owne power, it being every mans ſinne not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be neceſſary to either.

To thee O Lord, do I addreſſe my prayers beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſible bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretentions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be Religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious deſignes to have the countenance of Religious ties

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy and after Vowes to make enquiry

Ever keep thy ſervant from conſenting to perjurious, and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and

thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning, and Religion.

Though my Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and my Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations lest a coal from thine altar, set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience, as will never be quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore, That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread

Let not holy things be given to swine; nor the Churches bread to dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsells which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboths vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouthes, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed

together against the Church and State that the f
of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no f
ther.

But so favour My righteous dealing O Lord, t
in the mercies of Thee, the most High, I may no
miscarry.

---

15. *Vpon the many Jealousies raised, and Sc*
dalls cast upon the King, to stir up the peo
against Him.

IF I had not My owne Innocency, and Gods p
tection, it were hard for Me to stand out agai
those stratagems and conflicts of Malice, which
Falsities seeke to oppresse the Truth; and by Jeal
sies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which mi
seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostili
come short of these Designes: For, I can more w
lingly lose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor
My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputati
and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but th
may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, wh
I am dead and gone: A good name being the e
balming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of th
to an Eternity of love and gratitude of Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret e
gines at first employed against My Peoples Love
Me: that undermining their opinion and value
Me, My Enemies, and theirs too, might at on
blow up their affections, and batter downe th
Loyalty.

Where

Wherein yet I thanke God, the detriment of My Honour is not so afflictive to Me, as the sinne and danger of My Peoples Soules, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspitions, they are soone mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they doe not onely, not consider their sinne and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then feare God most, when they least honour their KING.

I thanke God, I never found but My pity was above my anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Me, as to exclude My most compassionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their owne malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against my supposed Errours, not my Person; and intended to mend me, not to end me: and I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to doe him better service, and my people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeeme them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to my owne Affections toward the generality of my people, to suspect theirs to me; nor shall the malice of my Enemies ever be able

to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spitefulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty.

The sense of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more than my self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-see that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather encreased than allayed.

I had rather prevent My Peoples ruine than Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraigne.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die

die many deaths, than shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray My own just Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of disloyalty.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My Patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, than My leisure to answer the many false aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects satisfaction, than My own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authours to be punished by their own evill manners, and feared Consciences, which will I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false scandalls, which they have cast on Me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and

inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honour.

First nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search My own Innocency; then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety; for this gave to vulgar minds to bid a reflection upon Me, and My Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Me and not withall to part from God; to think or speak well of Me, and not to Blaspheme him; so many were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me which were both learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the cause of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Me, than forsake Me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious pretentions as were used against Me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Me; Especially being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, or what they call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them, looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnes of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not mine down as false.

I Thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion; whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me and my People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I shall ever, by Gods help persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists which were my Subjects any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameneſſe of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second they ow to me in Common, as their K I N G; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades)

take away the communitie of relations either to
rents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Og*
or medley of various Religions in the World aga
as those men entertaine in their service (who fin
most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to t
diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible shame, f
such as would be counted Protestants, to enfor
Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to
necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did b
their duty to helpe Me to defend My selfe.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in su
exigents to use the aide of any His Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sen
of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Profe
fours; who seeme to have learned, and to practi
the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it hath beene a very impertinent and u
seasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no dou
to My Enemies) to have beene then disputing th
points of different beleefes in My Subjects when
was disputed with by Swords points: and when
needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse tha
their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was anothe
usefull devise for those, who were impatient an
mens counsells but their owne, should be followe
in Church and State; who were so eager in giving
Me better counsell that they would not give M
leave to take it with Freedome, as a Man; or Ho
nour as a King; making their counsells more like
drench that must be powred downe, than a draught
which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frail
ties

ties My selfe, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were farre more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even weldred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My selfe any inclination to use; I could not so soone have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complaine, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My selfe, but of a Zeale to releeve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefits of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, than be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crowne of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designes, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, than unapt to beare in the popular sense; which is to doe what every man liketh best. If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to doe what they so will, according to Reason, Lawes; and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy my selfe; So farre am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted me so prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to helpe on the enslaving of themselves and their Posterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peere, and People, will ever desire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his safety while he seekes an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best informe my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feele at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardinesse to vie their King with so severe restraints; against all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which

yet;

yet, I will rather perish, than complaine to those, who want nothing to compleat the mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In poynt of true conscientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire my Lawes and Scepter should intrench on Gods Soverainty, which is the onely King of mens Consciences; and yet He hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men liberty to breake the Law established, further than with meekeneſſe and patience, they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publike Peace.

The truth is, some men thirst after Novelties, others despaire to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods Providence, as well as their owne merits) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have beene perswaded to expend much of those plentyfull estates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and my selfe exposed to all those contempts, which may most diminish the Majesty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object, so my reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in

in the night and darker-times) rise and recover it to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall bi shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear, never were any Princes more glorious, than th whom God hath suffered to be tryed in the fo nace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull G will do Me good, for some mens hard, false and ev speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather wh they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, b those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which lik fire in great conflagrations flie up and down to i all places on like flames) than those men do, wh pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of the duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of thos who contrary to the precept of God, and precede of Angells, *speak evill of dignities, and bring railin accusations against those*, who are honoured with th name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God, should not Honour their KING.

They will easily contemne such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obscurity; yet hath he graven such Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veiles be able to hide the shining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the eradiations of true glory and Majesty.

Thou

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and my dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are set on fire, Even the Sons of Men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace lest my Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhorre both the blood-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure my patience, That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldest not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil

vil-speaking by well doing; and let them not enjoy the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience, and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy, through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sinne.*

Let Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabshekah's *railing and* Shimei's *cursing, provoke as my humble prayers thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.*

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me; from the approach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

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16. *Vpon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no newes to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety must needs undo what ever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdome or godlinesse.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the Divine Majesty)

jesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers must be (not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent) but wholly cashiered and abolished, & after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrin of the Church of *England*; & this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy as I hold

this

this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same Formes of Prayer, since he prayes to the same God, beleeves in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reades the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feeles the same dayly wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sence; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our dayly bread.*

Some men, I heare, are so impatient not to use their all their devotions their owne invention, and gifts, that they not onely disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemne the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expressions, in Publique Prayer, or any sacred administration, merits and greater brand of sinne, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary varietie; and very fervently devout

devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and devotion, than unpremeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Booke were, who may in all reason be thought to have more of Gifts and Graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation and concurrent advise, such Formes of Prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers understanding, to stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their Spirit (wherein consists the very Life and Soule of Prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have, which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affectation, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusions, flatnesse, levity, obscurity, vaine, and ridiculous repetitions, the senseleesse, and oft-times blasphemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, doe sufficiently convince all men, but those who glory in that Pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be stranegly impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite

ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſa-
cred a nature, before God and the Church af-
ter ſo ridiculous and indeed ſo profane a man-
ner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of fre-
quent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations
and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt
either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly
which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive
of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick com-
poſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new ex-
preſſions, when the ſubject is the ſame; which can
hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencie
not to want (many times) much of that compleat-
neſſe, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties
which by this means are expoſed at every celebrati-
on to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſi-
ons, errours, diſorders, and defects, both for judge-
ment and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the
Church unavoidably following every mans ſeveral
manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the
wiſdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to re-
medy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Litur-
gies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will
ſufficiently feele, when the unhappy fruits of
many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident
defects ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſmes,
diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion,
which are already but too many, the more the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and a-
bet thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to
have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Reli-
gion

sion forbids at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-Booke; or refusing to use it, cryed out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirits as if it were cloached in, and confined to, fit words: (so slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penalty any to use the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, than such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; & whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious liberties, which free some, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains; when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes short of the others, but their modesty and learning, far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned & sober debates, being convinced by the evidence of Reason,

as well as Lawes, they should have been driven eit
to sin more against their knowledge by taking
way the Liturgy; or to displease some faction of
people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more c
siderable men, not onely for their number and est
but for their weighty and judicious piety, than th
are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought
gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found w
the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe was this, T
it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which P
tions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*,
yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and e
Cursings of Me in their own forms, instead of p
ing for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely
nishment; that seeing the onely mischiefs which
disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produc
they may restore that credit, use, and reverenc
them, which by the ancient Churches were give
Set Forms, of sound and wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God
fed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and
of constancy; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh s
of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed
graces joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches u
and well-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable t
will, which is alwayes the same, and the fervent
our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us,

And then we doubt not, but thy Spiritual p

tions are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in their pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with indecencies in thy services, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of Truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord, keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee or praising of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

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17 *Of the differences between the King, and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath

hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on him, as may best restraine the seditious exorbitancies of their leaders tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so farre the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, being (as KING) intrusted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving of Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My Judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the couetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens

wits

wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turnes, to whom the charge was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all his Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in Reason or Charity be supposed, that all Churches in the World should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soone deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That since the first Age, for fifteene hundred yeares not one Example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practise agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are set downe in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of welbeing, than the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops Power and Authority, as to over-see both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and

Apostolicall constitution: which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power & Authority in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline, than those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyters, Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the over sight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*,) succeeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over large divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that speciall dignity which had extraordinary call, mission gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until use, (the great arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, the (honour of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspition or reproach of arrogancy, to those

who

who were by Apostolicall propagation righely descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) than are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine and clear testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traitours, and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlinesse.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon my judgment was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me; who cannot in point of wordly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and my dear-

est

reſt relations with My Kingdomes, have ſuſtained
hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture
the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall prac
the beſt Commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, a
the true nature of Government, it cannot be thoug
that an orderly ſubordination among Presbyters,
Miniſters ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtiani
than it is in all ſecular and Civill Government, wh
parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſi
ent with true Religion, than good features are wi
beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeve
orders and a Prelacie in the Government of
Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor
forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters, who have
much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion, as
ther men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of whi
the Apoſtolicall wiſdome (which was divine) aft
that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congreg
tions, and Presbyters with them appointed this w
of Government, which might beſt preſerve ord
and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour o
Princes, or ambition of Presbyters but the wi
dome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſet
led Biſhops in the Church; which Authori
they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe time
which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſ
for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Pre
ſidency and Authority in one man by the join
Counſell and conſent of many Presbyters I have of
fered

fered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may be too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason, and Religion, than such a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein not onely the necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the difference in some Ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth, than commendeth for their conformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason

why

why Churches orderly reformed and governed
Bishops should be forced to conforme to those
rather than to the Catholicke example of all
cient Churches, which needed no Reformation:
those Churches at this day, who Governed by
shops in the Christian World, are many more
Presbyterians or Independants can pretend to be;
whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes
governed by Bishops, would equalize (I thinke)
not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdome or charity, wh
Christians differ, (as many doe in some points) th
to widen the differences, and at once to give all
Christian World (except a handfull of some Pro
stants) so great a scandall in point of Church-G
vernment; whom though you may convince
their Errours in some point of Doctrine, yet
shall never perswade them, that to compleat th
Reformation, they must necessarily desert,
wholly cast off that Government, which they,
all before them have ever owned as Catholick,
mitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Sch
maticks, nor Hereticks, (except those Aerians) ha
strayed from the Unity, and Conformity of
Church in that point; ever having Bishops abo
Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and s
mission to this Government of Bishops, by the Cl
gy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a gre
confirmation of My Judgement; and their inco
stancy is a great prejudice against their novelty;
cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning
integrity, as if they understood not what heret
fore they did or that they did confirme contrary
the

their Consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who before the point of Church-Government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Lawes in force, and against My Consent, have not onely quite cryed downe the Government by Bishops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-Lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the streame of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertion of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to, and betrayers of their own interest, for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy, all Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, betweene the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poore carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefes; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discre-

tion

tion without passion might easily reforme, what ever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons, which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of charity and hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measures of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed My good intention made My errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which

which makes all Ministers equall; and the Independant inferiority, which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for My Judgement touching Episcopacy, wherein (God knowes) I doe not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Christian World, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seeke to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of My judgement, to consent to their weake and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I doe, That the Church should be governed as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude, when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation in the City or Country; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches well being, when multiplyed and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure that the purest Primitive and best

Churches

Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and many ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition; avarice, revenge, a other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not blowne up ſome mens minds againſt it, that w they want of Reaſon or Primitive Patterns, they ſu ply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome me zeale for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues ha ſet them on the worke to eate up Epiſcopacy: whic (however other men eſteeme) to Me is no leſſe ſi than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver all we have) of that portion which devout min have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands h graciouſly accepts even a Cup of cold Water, as a bation offered to himſelfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement bove other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judg ment, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that G vernment, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of t Function, as Antichriſtians, (which ſome men bold but weakly calumniate) I could ſoone, with Judg ment, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was tak by Me.

But being dayly by the beſt diſquiſition of truth more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of th to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſ eth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to notorious and combined ſinnes, of Sacriledge a Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I m doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſte in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeek to deprive them; a they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crim which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoo

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender of their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me That I muſt, and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds (Me agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both my ſelf and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of your ſouls, yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civill diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto if I ſhould ſhamefully, and diſhonourably give My conſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots* in

point of Church-Government, be rightly objected
againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to
the like in My other Kingdomes ; For it ſhould be
conſidered that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and
ſetled there, as 'tis here ; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo
ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in
this;for what I thinke in My judgement beſt, I may
not thinke ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and
at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yeelding to them, as My
failing and ſinne, I can eaſily acknowledge it ; but
that is no argument to do ſo againe,or much worſe,
I being now more convinced in that point : nor in
deed hath My yeelding to them beene ſo happy and
ſucceſſefull,as to incourage Me to grant the like to
others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt,as to Meekneſſe,
Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in thoſe that
pretend to other modes of Government,I might ſuſ-
pect My judgement to be biaſſed,or fore-ſtalled with
ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion ; but I
have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary
in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot
from them gaine the leaſt reputation for their new
wayes of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches
(whoſe Paternes are ſo cryed up, and obtruded
on the Churches under My Dominion) that either
Learning,or Religion, Workes of Piety or Charity
have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in
My Kingdoms(by Gods bleſſing)which might make
Me beleeve either Presbytery or Independancy have
a more benigne influence upon the Church and more
hearts and lives,than Epiſcopacy in its right conſti-
tion.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires, and interest of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tendernesse, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence to be over-born against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of My other Rights as a KING, *yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.*

Preserve from sacrilegious invasions, those temporall blessings which thy providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boare, and subtill Foxes, to wast and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING *in this Kingdome, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whose errours I would rather with* Constantine, *cover with silence, and reform with meeknesse than expose their persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church, make no long tarrying O my God to deliver both Me, and it, from unreasonable men; whose Counsells have brought forth and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, schismes, and disorders.

O thou God of order and of truth, in thy good time abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies,

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

18. *Upon* Uxbridge-Treaty, *and other offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to present them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity to *seeek peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The Events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhance with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: all that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes o
an happy compoſure ; had others applied themſelv
to it with the ſame moderation as I did, I am con
dent the Warre had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Ho
nour, and Conſcience, would give Me leave; nor we
the remaining differences ſo eſſentiall to My Peopl
happineſſe, or of ſuch conſequence ; as in the le
kind to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity,
proſperity; for they better enjoyed both, many ye
before ever thoſe demands were made, ſome of whi
to deny, I thinke the greateſt Juſtice to my ſelfe,
favour to my Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as th
are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat fr
violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wa
ing in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such
had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in war, ſtudi
to render the very name of *Peace* odious and ſu
pected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of pr
dence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience u
on me ; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo farre
the ſetling of them, as might have given faire ſat
faction to all men, whom faction, coveto uſneſſe,
ſuperſtition had not engaged more, than any tr
zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might ſeeme
advance true piety; I only ſought to continue wh
was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance, a
Authority to the Churches Government ; and wh
I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet downe M
thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the tr
Prineiples of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtat

and perfection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patterne, and the practise of the Universall Church conforme thereto.

For which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, fighting against Me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part from Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knowes, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-successefulnesse of that Treaty, and who must beare the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before GOD, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to My People, than the preservation of my owne Crownes to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, & glory most in an unflexible stiffeness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to aske something, which in reason & honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Me destroy my selfe by dishonourable confessions, that so they might have the lesse to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the World see, how little I would

deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique Peace. That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveneſſe, is imputable to their owne depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet Me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather than to be drawne to produce our owne reaſons or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the ſucceſſfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treate: which implyed ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonablene ſe they were loath to have fairely ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſinnes juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers,

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to bee reconciled with thy ſelfe: who wanteſt not Power or Juſtice to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the blood of our

Redeemer,

Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy selfe, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speake thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians, and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker cannot merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the Warre, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy Warre, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation & thanks to own, & use his Power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My Cause: and those that were with Me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was began by most riotous, and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt, but personall and private sins may oft-times over-ballance the Justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any Cause, nor the peace of Mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Those with Me had (I think) clearely and undoubtedly, for their Justification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring Obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or against Me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flye to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church and State; being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence

fence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt, by unſuppreſſed Tumults; after, by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes and Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome Paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth, be applied onely to thoſe who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in This World; who having no advantageous Deſignes by any Innovation, were Religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church and My Selfe, which lay upon their Soules both for Obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crowne many of them with eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a meanes to ſave their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their preſent

present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance, hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field, but never I believe at the bar at Gods Tribunall, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter theſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, than they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) than the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be dayly tormented with that horrid guile wherewith their ſuſpicious or now convicted conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the World have ſeen how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretentions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Lawes eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, than to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loalty; and

be

be as faithfull to God and their owne soules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other,

Yet I cannot thinke, that any shews, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficent to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sence of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without My sorrow, because it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absolom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made Me despaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but onely restore the Lawes and Liberties of My People; which I saw were extreamly oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I beleeve at last would make all things to worke together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, than to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for Victory over others, than over My selfe. When the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by

by punishing our sinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The Conscience of My Innocency forbad Me to fear a War, but the love of my Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this, that I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denyed more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was, (no doubt) such as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries..

Peace it self is not desirable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and less against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts,

and

and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to Me, than all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and My Enemies by patience, which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety, thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my Subjects to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer: I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most Reformed, that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore

and

and establish a firm and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stirre up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, & such self-denial, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distraction, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War; so for the sins of War thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the World can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the bloud of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and grief hath been shed by Me in My just and necessary defence, but wash me with that precious bloud which hath been shed for me by my great Peace-maker Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeeme Me shortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the tryumphing of the Wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but a moment,

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20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour Me so farre, as to make Me an Instrument of so good a worke, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times,

and

and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes established, and the Religion setled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church, what novelties of Schismes and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Reuenves of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Me have followed (as showres doe warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesses and (with My selfe) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury have beene allowed the reputation of Zeale and the Publique sense, so that the study to please some Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councells and endeavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsells as they would have included the Votes of all, so 'tis like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of

Church Affaires, I dislike not further, than that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*, nor with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot thinke so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Lyturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had beene left to the liberty of their owne suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, & fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and my consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light as in that point shines to My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the Constant and Universall practise of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Prebytery what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order,

I think neither just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels, and such (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designes; which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of Christ's Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the noise of a through Reformation, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the Publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to what he may say *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, preaching, and other Offices, the setting forth also of old Catechismes and Confessions of faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrin of Faith in this Church before some four or five yeares consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these and the like, are the effects of popular specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do)and may give some short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties,as Children with Babies,very much, but not very long)But all this amouuts not to,nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, than when they began, in point of Piety, Morality,Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly,and which have,and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their own. Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought that the Government of this Church and State fixed by so many Lawes and long Customes,would not run into their new mould till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved,if they prevailed,to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the images they should form and set up. If there had been as much of Christ's Spirit, of meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name used in the pretentions, to reform all to Christ's Rule ; it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of Christ's Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion , and the Unity of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private

and practise that on their own hearts which they purpose to try on others; for Deformities within will soon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designes, as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be justly advanced, by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the* King.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine, nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Christians that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions, both against me and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evill beginnings bring forth good conclusions, unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of Confusions, and Peace out of passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hipocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our owne Souls.

That we may in clearneſſe of judgement, and u
rightneſſe of heart be means to reform what is inde
amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord and renew rig
ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy direction
to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell Re
formers have brought upon this Church and State
Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, unde
the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſion
and confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens inte
tions and weakneſſe of their judgements, ſo bring us
laſt more refined out of theſe fires by the methods
Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein n
thing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe or ſacriledg
may have any influence upon their counſels whom th
providence in juſt and lawfull wayes ſhall entruſt wit
ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary work: that I an
My people may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as m
beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peac

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21. *Upon His Majeſties Letters, taken, and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; ſo they knew not how with Honour and Civility to uſe it Nor doe I think with ſober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Vertue and Nobleneſſe be-

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ing discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to to expose them to publique view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the World, without any of those dressed or popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses, I wish My Subjects had yet a cleare sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover how they are divided betweene the love and care I have, not more to preserve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreame griefe to see both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion; Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavoured to avoid the pressures of My Enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame Me or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppressed.

The World may see how soone mens designe, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or misinterpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more than an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own, than My Peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates, and directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellonrs.

Its probable, ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Councellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves, not allowing Me to think their counſells to be other than good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines

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the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adveſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte my credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover mine, the laws & the kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reigne; by exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſigns of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think that by the ſurpize of my Letters. I have loſt any more than ſo many Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and Honour, which they ow to their *King*, preſent, and after-times will judge, and I cannot thinke that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret im-

impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which *Noahs* Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Cham's* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seeke by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of My People: forgeting that duty of modest concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in case they had discovered any real uncomlinesse; which, I thanke God, they did not; who can, and I beleeve, hath made Me more respected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as *a vile Person*, not fit to be trusted or considered, under any notion of Majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence, ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affaires; make me to see the constancy of thy mercie to me, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my enemies against me.

As thou didst blast the counsell of Achitophel *turning it to* Davids *good, and his owne ruine: so canst thou defeat their Designe, who intended by publishing my private Letters, nothing else, but*

to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I must first appeal to thy omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which My enemies by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined and displeasure they intended thereby against Me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud Mine Honour, to pervert My purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee, in honour or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency, for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Vpon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest My Head: Shewing Me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I looke not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My selfe, and My now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellour, and commands Me to study My safety by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began My troubles. Happily God may make them a meanes honourably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them: My rendering My Person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the World see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter. Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and My selfe; nor shall any necessities compell Me to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgement. Wha

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them a ſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my ſelfe; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have Adhered to me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous than that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for my Friends ſaftey, than mine own; chuſing to venture my ſelfe upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairely to give over, than to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my Judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeeme to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thanke God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never thinke my

my self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the integritie of my Conscience, the onely Jewel now left me which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of battell, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire to enlighten and direct me, in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of a cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a shield.

Thou knowest that it is not any perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honour, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person peace and Safety against Those that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompany me, in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

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Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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23 *Vpon the* Scots *delivering the* King *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should doe it; and that My price should be so much above My Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himselfe; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* breake under the hand of him that leanes on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods Providence commands Me to retire from all to himselfe, that in him I may enjoy My self, which I lose, while I let out My hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives Me leisure enough to study the Worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly His, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No restraint shall ensnare My Soule in sinne; nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accused.

They have no great Cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My Soule

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is ſtill My owne : nor ſhall they ever gain My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evill Counſellours with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt ; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their Obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me ; not more a King, and farre leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be My ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle My Soule : Better others betray Me, than My ſelfe ; and that the price of My Liberty ſhould be my Conſcience: the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeeke to inflict upon me, cannot be wirhont my owne Conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted : nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeeme willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelfe and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo deare to me, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowne and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe ; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

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The Lawes will by Gods blessing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by my consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carries not with it, his souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldome,

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them, happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would enslave them, I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God infinitely good, and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life; and whose service is perfect freedome.

Owne me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason, as a Man, with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancy in Justice, as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy selfe; and which, cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my passion to any impatience, or sordid feares

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me: doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenace upon Me, and I shall never want safety, liberty, nor Majesty.

Give Me that measure of patience and constancy which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my Enemies prevaile too much against me.

I am become a wonder, and a scorne to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon Me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may doe, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldst have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule trusteth in thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill these calamities be over-past.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killest me, yet will I trust in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vayle and shadow of death, yet shall I feare none ill.

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24. *Upon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all ther civill comforts and secular Attendance, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their

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learning, piety, and prayers, I hope to be either better enabled to sustaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thrones, and after the plowings of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wilderness to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more sad than any solitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had beene no wonder to have beene denied in those things, where the evill policy of men forbids all just restitution, least they should confesse an injurous usurpation: But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of My Chaplaines, seems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactors: whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allowes them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seeke to deprive Me of all things else, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sense Charity it self can hardly pick out to those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that

Requeſt ſo often made for the attencance of ſome of my Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought the Unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denialls might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee me prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent Comforters or Phyſitians; who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting thoſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotionall compliance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love & Charity.

Some remedies are worſe than the diſeaſe, & ſome comforters more miſerable than miſery it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies:

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function that I have hazarded My own Intereſt, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more

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to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them; who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for My speciall Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mans prayers, than to be forced, or seeme to comply with those petitions; to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldnesse, nor pious non-sense; but such an humble, and judicious gravity, as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of Gods Majesty, the Churches honour, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercy for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers that sound imperiously, or rudely and passionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick forms of Prayer as, are fitted to the Churches, and every Christians daily and common necessities; because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn My hearr unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiency; which I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in

private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance Though the light of understanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main, and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasionall, solitary, and sociall Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equall minds with as much Reason to prefer the service of my owne Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been alwayes educated and exercised; in the other I am not yet Catechised, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule, and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men; a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ soli* than to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocrita*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by My Denyers sufficient of my selfe to discharge my duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices Regall and Sacerdotall might well become the same Person; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, If I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,

Crowns, than one was for devout Psalmes; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any one of those the Roman Emperours, affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome and providence hath, for the most part alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find my self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no lesse enforce me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Christian King, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own or other mens; by how much they flow, from minds more enlightned, and affections lesse distracted, than those which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soule is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self, and its services to God, every private believer is a King and a Priest, invested with the honor of a royall Priesthood:

yet, as to Eccleſiaſticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Prieſt, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modeſt, and I thinke, more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſſe to My ſpirituall defects makes me more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holy and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford me, eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſome of my Subjects to reduce me; ſo as to leave them nothing more but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſſe provoke their jealouſie and offence to deny me, than this of having ſome meanes afforded me for my ſouls comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) ſcandalous, ſo every way eminent for their learning and piety, no leſſe than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made againſt them but onely this, That they may ſeem too able and too well affected toward me & my ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced me to ſerve my ſelf; though I muſt confeſſe I bear with more grief & impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my ſervants; and next (if not beyond in ſome things) to the being ſequeſtred from my Wife and children; ſince from theſe indeed more of humane & temporary affections, but from thoſe more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Oratour or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now solitary prayers; what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darknesse, and quicken My dulnesse.

O thou Sun of righteousnesse, thou sacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme My heart, instructing of Me and interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse: From thee all-sufficiencie: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough: Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestling of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.*

O looke on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociate Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve,

serve and encrease the holy fire of thy graces, on the altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denialls of those helps which I much want, and no lesse desire.

O let the hardnesse of their hearts occasion the softnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denialls of my Religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnesse encline thine ear to me; who art a God easie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it wil not hear; nor thy hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from that communion of inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make me such, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make me thy Temple, thy priest thy sacrifice, and thine Altar, while from an humble heart I (alone) dayly offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my self to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.

Thou O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies, and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oyl in the cruse faile the Widow during the time of drought and dearth. O

O look on my soul, which as a Widow, is now desolate and forsaken: let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail My memory, nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholsome food for the refreshing of my soul

Which yet I had rather chuse than to feed from those hands, who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting than teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for thy subjection, and my preservation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King and their God.

O let not those mens balms break my head, nor their Cordialls oppresse my heart, I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy Servant, O my King and my God.

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25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the Kings solitude at *Holmeby*.

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King, and my God, for unto thee will I pray

I said in my haste I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou O Lord shouldst be extream to marke what is done amisse, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sinnes before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my Personall, & my Peoples sins; which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory and my Subjects good: Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come farre short of Davids *piety; yet since I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdomes have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesses, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleved to see thy goodnesse in the Land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still: Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house: as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor Thou the Glory of my Patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee doe thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee: so heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes: in continuing the light of thy Gospell, and setling thy true Religion among Us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civill Warres.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedome of publick Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keepe me from the great offence of exacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoylings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then shall my Soule praise thee, and magnifie thy Name before my People.

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me than my Crown; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Justice, and my Kingdomes with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owe as the righfull succession, so the mercifull restauration of my Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me againe with peace, safety, and honour to my chiefest Citie, and Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hands to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Christ's sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We

We have beene mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all meanes in the wayes of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mecies be toward Me and mine, as My Resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out o feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lard hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy Name.

May My People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Vpon the Armies Surprisall of the* King *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who onely seekes to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, seemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim downe such a streame, than in vaine to strive against it.

These are but struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seeke to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of Union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *Omen*; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the peoples liberties, cannot be utterly against the liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Lawes, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without My Consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service in

that

that they carry on a buſineſſe or ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on a deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and City: which ſoone after acting over againe that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours & diſtractions. No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their owne Army for new tumults. So hardly can men be content with one ſin but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me & many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them. But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens Juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the tumults, were counted Deſertors, & outed of their places in Parliament. Such as ſtay'd then, & enjoy'd the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, & Forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the tumults, & vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as abettors of tumultary inſolencies, & betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where Men looke more to preſent Advantages,

than their Conſciences, and the uncharitable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abbettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to haue done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Lawes cannot, God will puniſh, by their owne crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wiſhed ſo well to the Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them doe, or ſuffer, any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to ſee them only ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking. I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpaire of their Loyalty to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorme be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I looke, as Chriſt did ſometimes over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares, with compaſſionate griefe, fore-ſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing willfull; ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrowes who would not timely repent of their ſinnes; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to

their

their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keepe ill men in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a faire period for these motions which go rather in a round and circle of fansie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the knowne Lawes, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, soone grows weary of it selfe, and ends in a refractory fullenesse: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so farre excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I thinke it necessary, in order to the Publique Peace, that they should be satisfied, as farre as is just; no man being more prone to consider than My Selfe: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so farre esteeme that valour and gallantry they have sometimes shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My Selfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdomes in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But then, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom Thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of my People, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another; to the continuance of my Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due observation of the Lawes.

Make me willing to goe whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me such even as thou wouldst have me, t'at I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquillity which thou alone canst give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, for their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wils to embrace, and courage to act those things, which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, lest their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against me.

Their sins exposing them to thy justice, their riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine

Let me not ſo much conſider, either what they have don, or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon, and My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in my ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves: who tho leſſe they weep for Me, the more cauſe they have to weepe for themſelves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy owne Juſtice.

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOnne, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd; they may be ſo far uſefull unto You, as to ſtate Your Judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give You ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I find My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self and useful to You; that neither you, nor any other may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some Others whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdome You have above most Princes; that You have begun and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, than in warmth and serenity of times, or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*; the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdome; the other softned by the unparalelled prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adversity like cold weather drives away.

I had rather You should be *Charles le Bon*, than *le Grand*, good than great; I hope God hath designed You to be both, having so early put You into that exercise of his Graces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose You to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shal place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraigne disposer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty you can attain to; is, to be subject to him that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick peace.

Piety will make you prosperous, at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which centre of true happinesse, God I (trust) hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already wel-grounded and setled in your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of *the Church of England* in which you have been

been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custome or tradition which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your souls than your Kingdomes Peace when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience they cry out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You be well setled, You shall never want temptations to destroy you & yours, under pretentions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seems even to worst men, as the best & most auspicious beginning of their worst designes.

Where, besides the novelty which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church

Church well setled;your partiall adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion,) as it loseth you in others;who think themselves, and their profession first despised then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction.For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie you are undone.The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of loyalty justice or humanity than from those, who engage into religious rebellion;Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety,ambitious policies march;not onely with greateſt security,but applause,as to the popularcy; you may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years, so compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their party great either in Church,or State,as to mens judgements:But as soon as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflamations) so did all, at first,who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side,as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master,till time and military succesſe discovering to each their peculiar advantages,invited them to part stakes: and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion,pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profit & preferments,

ments,to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have engrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace,so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errrours and Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand breadth, by seditious Spirits,as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done Justice to God, your own soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of Civill Justice,wherein the setled Lawes of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can govern by;which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty and happinesse;and yet reserve enough to the Majesty, and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as slaves; whose Subjection as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes, to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body,the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength,honour or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed, and exercised in remitting,rarher than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worse than Legall Tyranny.

In

In these two points the preservation of established Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdoms have nothing else to object against Me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do & ever shal, til I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, & Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in whibh is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much sollicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My soul, what is I believe right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and safety, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church and My People, and to you also, as the next undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is, that you seriously consider the former, reall or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that you may avoid them.

never

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own Judgement, which is likely alwayes to be more constant and impartiall to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next beware of exasperating any Factions by the the crosseneſse and asperity of some mens passions, humours or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and Suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutours, who are commonly assisted with that vulgar commiseration, which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Lawes and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentialls of them, such motions and minings are intollerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye and impartiall hand distribute favours and rewards to all men as you find them for their reall goodnes both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best

ſt and moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer wayes of vertue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalry, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all Factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretentions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: as the Wolf is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſell to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety, and vertue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations, of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When

When these mountaines of congealed factions shall by the Sun-shine of Gods Mercy, and the Splendour of Your vertues be thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppressours of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurpe power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose owne sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equall the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwayes propense to the same way, when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice,

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in his grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours,

tours, and our injuries, will feele in their owne Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject: so the nobleness of Your mind must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to You, not despairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will study to deserve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without any high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your owne honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if you never see My face againe, and God will have Me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designes require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a looke with Me; I doe require and intreat you as your Father, and KING, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, & many disputes, have concluded it to the be best in the World; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way betweene the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanesse of fantastique Anarchy.

None but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Goverment in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily beene done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandall of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to You against the Protestant Religion established in ENGLAND, is easily Answered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late war against the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in ENGLAND: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *knowne by their fruits*; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thornes should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedome and honour, will never impaire or diminish your greatnesse, but will rather be the interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the publick interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their counsells in common, enacting all things by publick consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever restored to Our right, but God in his severest justice will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give you and me that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon fordid dishonourable, or irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, you shall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of your honour will consist in

Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a meanes to blesse Me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is,(whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make You an Anchor; or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your Wisdome, Justice, Piety, and Valour, of what the folly and weakness of some men have so farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, to the Crowne, and Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience or Lives.

When they have destroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me, (I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deserted Me, or engaged against Me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose reward horrour will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary Judgements.

For those that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no misse of Me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their dutie-

toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I beleeve You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that Loyalty and Love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appeares, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects; (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sinne and their infelicity.*

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousnesse, Your Soul in true Religion, & Your Honour in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My Memory ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that loves you: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter & Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me

to My Rights. I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of my Peoples love and pity.

At worst I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell till We meet, if not on Earth yet in Heaven.

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28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His Majesties closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrooke-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons, and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the spaces, but mans cruelty, that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God my prosperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudie dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those naturall Antipathies betweene Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thanke

God

God the common terrours of it are dispelled, and the speciall horrour of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the Antidote of his death against them, which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear

Indeed I never did find so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a Judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old as to be weary of life, nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die; or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die: if I did not consider, That is the greatest glory of a Christian life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives,

Though, as a KING I think my self to live in nothing temporall so much, as in the love & good will of My People; for which as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsity and violence of hostility to de-

destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of weariness of life, and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or inlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher. or lower: whose totall absence is best recompenced with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samson's* Lion, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man is certain; that I may die a King by the hand of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death; in the strength of My years in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectatours; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me living, dying

dying, & dead is so probable in humane Reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty: however I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole custody and disposall: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrours of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in a suddenness of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more solemnly cruell) will, it may be seek to adde (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockery of Justice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man to endeavour my preservation, must pretend justice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Partis, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraign, wherein those who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding my bloud seeme to wash their own hands of that in-

innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and and man; and I beleeve in their owne consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slaine.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy My self with the Church & State by My Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thinke, that Kingdome of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of those, whose right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*; who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Theire impatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them thinke no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My Troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded My Cauſe; not ſuffering them to goe unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up Death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion,

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not only the Honor to imitate his example *in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake*, (though the obſcured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further than to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their Soules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while

while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by My danger, and the security of their lives and designes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperitie, so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes

I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian towards his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whose mercy I believe, will more than infinitely recompence whatever by mans injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending My death will far surpasse all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the shadows of My earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that heavenly Kingdome with himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp & necessary tyranny of My Destroyers, will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against Me; I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who doe not onely

pity

pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

These know how to excuse My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King: there being no religious necessity binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; especially there, where more than sufficient satisfaction hath beene made to the Publick, the enjoyment of which private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe of softer tempers, and lesse advantages by My ruine, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evill dealings against Me in the measure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope so long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruell as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine justice as is not ordinary; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designes against Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in My peace, which I trust is made with God; before whose exact Tribunall I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Me and My causelesse Enemies: where I doubt not but his righteous Judgement will confute their fallacy who from worldly

Wordly successe (rather like Sophisters, than sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good Conscience) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearnesse of my Conscience before God, and toward my People will carry me as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fills the sayles of Pirats doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedome and Honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the Just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had with the greatest advantages, of successe, over-borne them all, as some men have now evidently done whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event I may seem to owe more

to

to my enemies, than my friends; while those will put a period to the sins & sorrows attending this miserable life wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, & the effect of others sins, as men, both against God & me; yet as I hope my own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophies of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them; than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my Body: of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraint, denying me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged; than any way obstructed My accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of Eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, & the mercifull Saviour of us in it, & from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee: than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither feare nor feele any evill, though I walke through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with Death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designes of those, who have, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me the goodnesse of thy will, through the wickednesse of theirs.

Thou givest Me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may passe from Me; but thou hast taught Me as a Christian by the example of Christ to adde not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I beleeve thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they losse their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my selfe, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood O sprinkle their pollusted, yet penitent Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they thinke my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That which is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seene thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

A

Perfect Copie of

PRAYERS,

Used by His

MAIESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctour JUXON

Bishop of LONDON *immediately before his Death.*

Also a Copie of a Letter from the

PRINCE.

Printed *Ann. Dom.* 1649.

A perfect Copie of private Prayers used by His Majestie, in the time of His Sufferings.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

Powerfull and Eternall God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Miserie with thine eye of Mercy, & let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdome this be the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions; if this ungratefull bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee, (Let my craving O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodnesse, which is

Thyself, Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majestie so to shine in My mind, that I, who in My greatest Afflictions acknowledge it My noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may still depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie be the exercise, but not the overthrow of My virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickednesse have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to thy eternall Kingdome, through the Merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Another Prayer.

ALmightie and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon me, O Father, through the Mediation, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well pleased: for, of my self I am not worthy to stand before Thee

Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God; for as in sinne I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavie displeasure: as for my sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting Torments in that to come; if Thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever,) and Thy compassion (which never fails,) which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed: but with Thee there is mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wouldst not enter into judgement with thy servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious bloud that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not onely to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the drosse of my naturall corruption; and as

thou doeſt adde dayes to My life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech Thee, to adde repentance to my dayes, that when I have paſt this mortall life, I may be partaker of Thy everlaſting Kingdome, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confeſsion, made in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodneſſe that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary dutie to confeſſe our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon ſo to do; no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou haſt given me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of my tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? and injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdome,

dome, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience; Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know my repentance weak, and my prayers faultie: Grant therefore mercifull Father, so to strengthen my repentance, and amend my prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedie end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me Patience to endure, Constancie against Temptations, and a discerning spirit, to choose what is best for Thy Church, and People, which thou hast committed to my Charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father for thy Sonne Jesus Christs sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather exspect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free me from my present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who

with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiplie, not diminish my transgressions to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all my sins, but also free me out of the hands, and protect me from the malice of my cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against my hainous offences will not otherwayes be satisfied, then by suffering me to fall under my present afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunitie, I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that my cause, as I am thy Vicegerent may not suffer through my weakness, or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Triall, that so my sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my Salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*

FINIS.

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the *Prince* to the KING; Dated from the *Hague*, Jan. 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report; I have sent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Majestie, and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Majestie, I do not onely pray for your Majestie according to my Dutie, but shall alwayes be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majestie upon*

SIR,

Your Majesties

most humble and most

obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Hague, *Jan* 23. 1648.

The Superscription was thus,

For the King.

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elisabeth, *and the Duke of* Gloceſter,

the day before His Death.

HIs Children being come to meet Him, He firſt gave his bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever ſhe ſhould ſee him; That it was his Fathers laſt deſire, that he ſhould no more look upon *Charles* as his eldeſt Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then ſaid the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhe) I ſhall not forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promiſed Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon his Knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (upon which words the Child looked very ſtedfaſtly on him.) Mark Child what I ſay, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſay, You muſt not be a King, ſo long as your Brothers, *Charles* and *James* do live: For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them,) and

and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the *King* rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the King said to me the 29th of *January* 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him. He told me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because He feared their Crueltie was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He should die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Ecclesiasticall Politie*, and Bishop *Lauds* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Poperie. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them

them also, and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother, That his thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send his Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Blessing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own souls; And desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should die a Martyr; And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon his Son, and that We should be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elisabeth.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THe KING said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told Him, that He heard that the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Copia vera.

An

An Epitaph upon King. CHARLES.

SO falls that stately Cedar; while it stood
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, celestial Man
Whose life, like others, though it were a span;
Yet in that span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore:
Thy heavenly virtues Angels should rehearse,
It is a theam too high for humane Verse:
He that would know thee right then let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're: which if he do,
Hee'l find thee King, *&* Priest, *&* Prophet *too;*
And sadly see our losse, and though in vain,
With fruitlesse wishes call thee back again:
Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse,
Though there were neither Monument, nor Verse.
Thy Suff'rings & thy Death let no man name,
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdomes Shame.

J. H.

FINIS.